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12 The research upon which this monograph was based was undertaken along two lines: statistical estimation and field investigation. The publication in 1950 of the 1940 agricultural census,[8] and crop,[9] and livestock[10] data for 1948 provided a body of statistical information for the minor civil divisions (municípios) of the Brazilian states. The assembly and tentative plotting of data from the above sources was the preliminary phase of the study. The variable quality and limited scope of the data made necessary an extensive field inquiry to validate and to extend the statistical analysis. The field investigation was divided into two sections: (1) general appraisal; and (2) intensive study of the two dominant agricultural sub-regions. In the general appraisal an effort was made to observe as many of the agricultural centers of the Recôncavo as the time available allowed. During the intensive [114] study the investigator lived in the two sub-regions in an attempt to observe and understand the covert as well as the overt agricultural phenomena of the community and the functional organization of the local economy.

128 The opening chapters of the study (Chapters II through IV) deal with the physical background, historical evolution, and social and demographic characteristics of the agricultural society of the Recôncavo. There follows an analysis of the distribution of the individual crops and of the total cultivated area (Chapter V) and a discussion of the combinations and functional associations of crops and the characteristic systems of cultivation (Chapter VI). The place of livestock in the pattern of crop cultivation is appraised in Chapter VII, and the distribution of various types of agricultural properties are discussed in Chapter VIII. The succeeding chapters deal with the value of agricultural products (Chapter IX) and with the marketing, transportation, and

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Soil mapping and analysis are still in a preliminary stage in Bahia. The most comprehensive source, the work of Bondar, includes a soils map of the state on a scale of 1:3,000,000.[6] Although the scale of this map is too small to give precise information for the Recôncavo, his accompanying description is in greater detail. It is based upon geologic zones. The discussion of soils below is based primarily upon the descriptions of Bondar, but the soils regions are derived from a more detailed geologic map.[7] Although the system of classification of Bondar has been retained, his soils descriptions were modified in some details to conform to the field observations of this research.[8]

The System of Classification Based upon Bondar.[9]

1. Clay soils of Cretaceous origin
   a. massapê (heavy dark clay)
   b. salão (light reddish clay)
   c. areia (sands)
   [d. clay soils of taboleiros]

2. Sandy soils of Tertiary taboleiros
   a. valley alluvium
   b. taboleiro soils
   c. sands of crystalline zone

3. Variable crystalline soils originating on Archeozoic rocks
   a. poor soils from clear, white acid rocks — 1. light upland soils
   b. better soils from neutral pigmented rocks — 2. red and brown clays
   c. good soils from dark basic rocks — 3. crystalline massapê
   d. good soils from clear rocks
      1. granite-calcite
      2. feldspar-mica-amphibole

[4. Calcareous soils from Algonkian rocks]

[5. Soils from sandstones of Paleozoic and Algonkian chapadas]

[6. Mixed soils of fluvial origin.]

Note: Soils types which are bracketed are part of Bondar's system but do not appear in appreciable areas of the Recôncavo.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27]

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000 Footnotes - Chapter II.

[127] [114] [1]The general scheme of classification and the map which are used in the following discussion are based upon the field interpretation of small-scale geologic and topographic maps. The description of the landforms is based upon field experience in all municípios of the Recôncavo except Coração de Maria and all other municípios shown on the maps except Esplanada and Entre Rios. The basic sources include:

Gregorio Bondar, "Solos da Bahia, Sua Conservação e Aproveitamento, Boletim Geográfico, Vol. IX, No. 99 (June, 1951), pp. 243-281. Mario Martins de Oliveira, "Recôncavo." Map at scale of approximately 1:500,000 (Bahia: Organização Brasileira de Edições Culturais, [n.d.]). Conselho Nacional de Geografia and Departmento de Geografia, Engenharia Rural e Açudagem do Estado da Bahia, "Mapa Geral do Estado da Bahia." Map at scale of 1:1,000,000 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953).

[2]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 261-263, and attached map.

[3]These depressions very much resemble the small depressions encountered in karst regions. However, mechanical removal of soil materials and perhaps of rock from joints in the crystalline regolith, rather than solution, would be the most likely process.

[4]There are two Rios Jacuípe in the Recôncavo. One is the tributary of the Rio Paraguaçu mentioned above. The other is the main stream of the central part of the sugar cane zone, which drains eastward directly to the ocean.

[114] [5]Bondar, op. cit., p. 253. In Brazil, Bondar is recognized as the outstanding authority on the soils of Bahia.

[6]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[7]Sylvio Froes Abreu, "O Recôncavo da Bahia e o Petróleo do Lobato," Revista Brasileira de Geografia, Vol. I, No. 2 (July-September, 1939), pp. 57-83.

[8]Other sources used as a basis for the discussion and mapping of soils were: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Geology and Climate (Information Sheet No. 2, with geological information maps and sections furnished by Horace E. Williams. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931], 28 pp. Orlando G. Teixeira, "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," Boletim da Secretaria da Agricultura, Industria, e Comercio do Estado da Bahia, Vol. XLII, No. 11.

[9]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[10]However, this presumed low fertility is not always reflected in lower actual yields.

[11]Geology and Climate, p. 10.

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[12]Teixeira, in his "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," pp. 36 and 38, gives the following data (here summarized) for the soils of Paranagua, near Rio Fundo in the município of Santo Amaro:

	Per cent		Per cent
Clay	25 - 45	Total Nitrogen	0.224
Lime	19 - 34	Exchangeable Calcium ME	44.8
Fine Sand	23 - 41	Exchangeable Magnesium ME	6.8
Coarse Sand	1.6- 6.5	Clorides	0.011
Residual Humidity	2.6- 5	Phosphorus	0.055
Rock	3.6- 10.7	Potassium Cloride	0.585
Water Capacity	40 - 58	Sodium Cloride	1.1577

[13]The Rio Pojuca has a gradient of 1-1351 from Catuiçara in northern Santo Amaro to the cidade of Pojuca, near the point at which the river enters the crystalline. The Rio Traripe has a gradient of about 1-125 for its last 10 km. before entering the Bay. Its valley is deeply incised, with deep gullies on the slopes.

[135] [14]These rock fragments, usually much weathered, almost invariably were identified as either gneiss or granite in the exposures observed in the field.

[15]Teixeira, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

[16]Bondar, op. cit., p. 256.

[17]One of the islands of the group pendant to the middle of the north coast.

[171] [18]Thus this part of Brazil is not like many areas in the United States, where relatively uniform cultivation practices are conspicuously minimizing soils differences.

[114] [19]According to the Köppen system of classification the coastal Recôncavo has an Af (tropical rainforest) climate, and the interior an Aw (tropical savanna) climate. According to the Thornthwaite system, all of the Recôncavo has a Ca'w (subhumid tropical with winter rainfall deficiency) climate. Glen T. Trewartha, An Introduction to Climate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), plates II and III.

[20]Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), pp. 9, 21.

132 129 [21]Official data from government weather stations was available for only four places in the Recôncavo--Salvador and São Bento das Lajes, in the município of São Francisco, on the littoral of the Bay; and Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo in the western interior. Of these, only Salvador had maintained a continuous record over a relatively long period--including the years immediately preceeding the field study. There were a number of stations in adjacent parts of the state of Bahia, but none were close enough to the Recôncavo to be reliable guides to its climatic pattern.

The data upon which the climatic analysis of this study was based came from three basic sources: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de Hidrologia, Atlas Pluviométrico do Brasil 1911-1938 (Boletim #5. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de

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127 Hidrologia, 1948). (2) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Meteorologia,
132 Normais Climatológicas (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Meteorologia, 1941).
(3) Data made available by the meteorological section of the Instituto Agronômico Léste at Cruz das Almas,

132 The risks involved in using these data are considerable. Of the
129 20 meteorological stations in eastern and central Bahia, only 2 or
114 perhaps 3 are reliable. For the others, gross errors and even deliberate falsification are notorious. Probably the data for Salvador is reasonably dependable, and during the field investigation for this study, there was opportunity to observe the conscientious attention to detail at Cruz das Almas.

The sheer lack of metacrological stations makes it necessary to infer most of the climatic pattern of the Recôncavo. It is fortunate that the two dependable stations occupy relatively representative sites in terms of the terrain and the land-sea relationship. Nevertheless, even the highly generalized climatic analysis of this section is offered with considerable hesitation. It is included in the study primarily as a base for agricultural research and, it is hoped, as a stimulant to a more adequate analysis of weather and climate for the Recôncavo.

000 [22]The municípios of Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará.

[137] [23]Often the slopes are more heavily forested than the surrounding tablelands, but it is not absolutely certain that this difference is unrelated to land use--the slopes are usually too steep for cultivation. In a number of municípios immediately to the east of this dry belt perennial or seasonal ponds were observed at the eastern or southern base of a number of monadnocks. Presumably these ponds are related to heavier precipitation on the slopes above.

[24]The mean annual precipitation of São Bento das Lajes (in the município of São Francisco) is 1947 mm. At São Gonçalo the mean annual precipitation is 1005 mm.

[25]According the advice of agronomists in the area. This approximation is based upon the general experience of the cultivators and not upon controlled experiments which could take into account varying temperatures, humidity, and soil moisture conditions.

[26]The mean of the deviations at Cruz das Almas was 33 per cent.

[249] [27]Except that 100 mm. is considered to be the minimum for tobacco cultivation, this exact figure has no particular significance. It is used here merely as a device to record the movement and duration of the season.

[249] [28]This seems to reflect accurately the climatic situation in the Coastal Plain, where sugar cane is grown, for the cane planters frequently complain of the irregularity of the end of the wet season.

[29]It is not possible to assign strict values for "too much" and "too little" precipitation in these agricultural zones of the Recôncavo. In the tobacco zone there is likely to be difficulty if the precipitation for September--or the following months--the cutting period, falls below

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OOO Footnotes - Chapter III.

[113] [1]See section by Pedro Calmon in Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World (Information Sheet No. 1. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931]), p. 5. In addition to the specific quotations, much of the historical detail which follows on Bahia and the Recôncavo has been taken from this source.

[114] According to Calmon (see page 3) Amerigo Vespucci was in the first group of Europeans to enter the Baía de Todos os Santos (1501) and was the first to lead an expedition inland from the Bay (1503). It was not until 1534 that the first attempt at colonization was made; this initial colony was destroyed by hostile Indians. The next attempt was in 1549.

[2]Spanish settlements in the Caribbean-Gulf of Mexico area, such as Havana, Jamaica, Darién, and San Juan, were established between 1509 and 1515. In Brazil, São Vincente (near present Santos) and Recife were established in 1532 and 1531, respectively. Rio de Janeiro (1555) and Buenos Aires (1580) are younger than Salvador.

[3]Negro slaves were reported in Bahia in 1538, after the first settlement attempt but before the official founding of the permanent colony. João Pandiá Calogeras, A History of Brazil, trans. and ed. Percy Alvin Martin (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 21.

[4]Luis Amaral, Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), II, 82-83; 192-193. In addition to the material specifically credited to Amaral, this three-volume agricultural history has been one of the basic sources for much of the historical analysis which follows.

[5]It is not clear whether these two indigenous crops were borrowed directly from the local Indians or were received indirectly via other Brazilian colonies.

[6]In 1583, thirty-six sugar mills were reported in Bahia. Amaral, op. cit., II, 82.

[113] [7]Caio Prado Junior, História Econômica do Brasil (second edition; São Paulo: Editôra Brasiliense Limitada, 1949), p. 40. This volume has been the basic general economic source for the historical analysis which follows.

[113] [8]Amaral, op. cit., I, 194, citing Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil, [1587].

[9]In northeastern Brazil, as in a number of other areas in Latin America, Indian slavery failed as a labor source because of a basic lack of supply, bitter resistance to enslavement, and a high death rate in captivity. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 21.

[10]Ibid., p. 26.

[11]Ibid.

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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.

[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municípios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[137] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[113] [18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples. See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[194] [191] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[206] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[133] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [122] [114]

[1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay, a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Fumo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804]

[2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throughout much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered to be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243]

[4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the present study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is more characteristic.

[237]

[5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unless manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244]

[6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

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*Although Vila Recôncavo is a real town, the names of all persons and places have been changed for the purposes of this study.

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[Town Life]

attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

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[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage.

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down.

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce.

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ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can accept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

The following data were collected through the use of a questionnaire given after the author had been in the field about nine months. The actual collection was accomplished by the author and two paid assistants. The questionnaire was long and detailed, and each one took approximately three hours to complete.

Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feeling that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1961) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations.
[262] The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal consisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

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[125] In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

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[161] Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire county (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are
[127] shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).
4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).
5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).
6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).
7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).
8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).
9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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the *homem de côr* to say '*êle É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangüe*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

[539]

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

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[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tional policy chose to assimilate the Negro rather than to segregate him; thus, with a significantly large Negro population, Brazil has no real race problem. Moreover, any Negro in Brazil who is qualified is given a status to which his abilities entitle him.

We are fortunate to have the original author, Dr. Donald Pierson, write the new introduction to the present work. Dr. Pierson, a man widely published in sociology, is a distinguished scholar, who has spent many years studying the Brazilian racial situation. In his new introduction, Donald Pierson has carefully reanalyzed his original work in terms of events which have transpired. In so doing he has integrated the significant scholarly publications which have emerged over the years. Although significant social changes have transpired in Brazil since the original publication of this work, the original formulations regarding race relations still remain valid, a testimony to the original perceptions of the author. The result is one of the most up-to-date analyses of race relations in Brazil today.

The author's original preface and the original introduction by Robert E. Park have been retained. Each gives a sense of historical continuity to the effort; and each contains comments for the present. Indeed, as suggested by Park, the task of maintaining an effective social order in the context of drastic social change constitutes one of man's greatest challenges; this observation is surely of contemporary relevance.

Herman R. Lantz

Southern Illinois University
January, 1966

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PREFACE TO THIS EDITION

FOLLOWING several impressions, this book has been out-of-print for some time; and, accordingly, I am grateful to Professor Herman R. Lantz and to Southern Illinois University Press for making it available again.

In preparation for the new Introduction a limited and preliminary survey was made of the criteria of rank in Brazil, with particular attention to the role of color. For assistance in this effort I am indebted to Professor Thales de Azevedo of Bahia, Professors Levy Cruz and Cecilia Sanioto DiLascio of Recife, Professors Santos Neves and Renato José Costa Pacheco of Vitória, and Professor Hiroshi Saito of São Paulo.

As the manuscript for the original book was being completed, in 1939, I was invited to São Paulo to help build up a pioneer school in Brazil in the social sciences; and I remained in that country for nearly two decades. At the time of this return, however, and for many years thereafter, there was little interest, in educational circles or elsewhere, in the study of the local racial situation. My time became so absorbed by an extensive round of other activities that for many years it was possible to give only limited attention to this problem.

By 1951, however, interest had built up in certain intellectual circles to the point where the UNESCO studies in several parts of the country were possible; but I was at that time also engaged, along with a considerable number of students and young professors whom I had helped train, in a series of studies in the São Francisco valley, so that it was not possible to accept the invitation to join the UNESCO

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In 1934, while I was a Fellow in sociology at the University of Chicago, my attention was called by Dr. Herbert Blumer to the possibilities of Brazil as a locus for the study of racial and cultural contacts, and I subsequently received encouragement from Drs. Robert Redfield, Louis Wirth, and Ellsworth Faris to consider these possibilities seriously. As I subsequently went through the available literature in several languages, I became increasingly interested in Brazil, particularly as a locus for investigating, in an intimate and detailed way, what appeared to be a racial situation sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is based upon caste, or that in the United States, where the Negro is now escaping from a caste status and becoming a racial minority similar to the Jew in Europe and elsewhere, to constitute, along with, perhaps, the Hawaiian and certain other similar racial situations, a distinct type. At approximately this same time Dr. Robert E. Park returned from an extended world-tour, during which he had observed at first hand a number of the more important centers of racial and cultural contact, including Brazil, in which he also had for some time been particularly interested.

The outgrowth of these converging interests was a two-year period of field work in Brazil (from 1935 to 1937) as research assistant of the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago, to which organization, together with the Rosenwald Fund, I am indebted for making this study financially possible. Twenty-two months of this period of residence were spent in intimate study of the social order of one city, the old seaport of Bahia.

This focusing of attention upon one particular locus is, in my opinion, an inescapable procedure, since the sentiments which determine human and personal relations are so in-

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that this discrimination at times involves colored persons. In this study undertaken thirty years ago that fact is stated (e.g., p. 350); and it has been extensively documented since.[11] The question is regarding the ascription of the reasons for this discrimination. Obviously, there are involved at times colored persons, the darker in such cases ordinarily the more, the lighter ordinarily the less. But this discrimination is automatically—and unjustifiably—assumed by some writers to be synonymous with race prejudice.

In the present author's judgment, based upon a careful and sympathetic reading and analysis of all these men have written in this respect, they are not dealing with race prejudice at all, at least as we have defined that term above. They are dealing instead, in different connections, with two sets of circumstances: a large number of cases where the referent is color, because color, in Brazil, is one of the criteria of rank; and, in the second place, a limited number of cases where the referent definitely is race but the attitudes are *individual* attitudes, individually derived and individually supported, and not general attitudes, originating in, and implemented by, the mores, as is the case with race prejudice.

Although race purists occasionally are to be found in Brazil, they represent, as Freyre has observed (1945:153),

[11] See, for example, Thales de Azevedo (1955a:95 ff.; 1956:84–85; 1959:97–101), Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944), and Aniela Ginsberg (1947) for Bahia; René Ribeiro (1956) for Recife; Oracy Nogueira (1942), Virginia Bicudo (1955), Roger Bastide and Florestan Fernandes (1955), Aniela Ginsberg (1955), and Carolina Martuscelli (1950) for São Paulo; Stanley Stein (1957) for Vassouras in the Paraíba valley; L. A. Costa Pinto (1953) for Rio de Janeiro; Octávio Ianni (1962), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1960, 1962), and these two authors jointly (1960) for southern Brazil; and C. R. Boxer (1953, 1962, 1963), particularly in historical retrospect, both in Brazil and among Portuguese colonies in Asia and Africa.

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affiliation, economic condition, and color, in that order. There was a surprisingly high degree of concordance in all five cities, the highest number of selections in each case being either personal competence or educational achievement. These two criteria were also most chosen as the "second most important" in all cities except one (where economic condition received the highest number of preferences for second place). As the "least important" criterion in a marriage partner, color was overwhelmingly selected in all cities, without exception.

What do these data mean? Are they illusory, by reason of flaws in the investigative tool? Do they point even more sharply to what some careful investigators have suggested regarding the differences between verbal and actual behavior? Or, taking into due consideration the admitted limitations of this preliminary survey, and taking also into consideration possible variants in verbal as contrasted with actual behavior, does there not still remain a strong likelihood that the role of color has been exaggerated by certain investigators who are familiar with other racial situations and simply cannot believe what lies before them? Or by local investigators who are in revolt regarding what they consider to be an overemphasis on Brazil's being a "racial democracy" and have deliberately set out to prove the reverse and in so doing have emphasized unduly certain limited aspects of the total situation and thus thrown the "picture" out of focus?

Wagley (1963b:152) reports that the hypotheses which emerged out of our study of Bahia were reaffirmed, in general, by the studies which he and his associates made in the same state and in the Amazon valley. They appear to be acceptable to the Bahian researcher, Thales de Azevedo; as well as to Felte Bezerra (1950; 1956), with reference to the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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vein, has pointed out. It was used in our original study to refer to very light mixed-bloods whose racial origin was evident to an anthropologist but not so evident to others, in an effort to make more understandable to a United States audience the actual situation at Bahia.

Perhaps it would be helpful to clarify certain matters mentioned in this book which have led serious critics to erroneous conclusions. Citing a Portuguese version of Chapter VII, Bastide (1943a:31) quotes us as saying that "in Bahia race prejudice is linked inexplicably (sic) to that of class." This statement we are unable to find in the translation of that chapter or in any other of our publications; nor do we subscribe to it.[32] The need to define terms is imperative. In their criticism of hypothesis 22 (see p. 349), Bastide and Fernandes (1951)[33] do not refer to *race* prejudice at all but instead—and repeatedly—to *color* prejudice. Obviously, they have misunderstood our intention. In an article published in the United States, Bastide and Pierre van den Berghe (1957:693) claim to have invalidated this hypothesis, "so far as São Paulo is concerned." They also write, however, that "we have not been able to isolate the effects of class and racial prejudice." It is therefore difficult to understand the subsequent statement to the effect that "we can definitely assert that, after *having eliminated*[34] the effects of class prejudice against colored people, there would remain an important residue of properly racial prejudice."

The principal difference of opinion, however, would seem to be due to a variation in the use of terms. It is the implica-

[32] A similarly erroneous (if more acceptable) ascription to our authorship is made by Staley (18).

[33] Republished, 1959:333.

[34] Italics ours.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tion of our research, confirmed, and much more clearly stated, by Wagley and his associates—particularly by Harris—that one of the criteria of class is color. In so far as this is true, class discrimination and color discrimination (but *not* race prejudice as defined above) are inevitably linked. Bastide and Van den Berghe contend that they are dealing with "race prejudice" when we believe they mean "discrimination on the basis of color."[35] That such exists by reason of color being one of the criteria of rank is admitted, in the same sense in which discrimination exists in the case of low family origin, or of low economic condition, or of low educational level, or of lack of personal competence.

Bastide and Van den Berghe also claim to have invalidated, as far as São Paulo is concerned, another hypothesis of this study which they identify as follows: "Prejudice against Negroes is directly proportional to socio-economic status." It is not clear to what these authors refer. We do not recognize this hypothesis as being among those formulated by us, either in this book or elsewhere; nor do we subscribe to it, as stated.

The hypotheses which emerged out of our original study[36] may require, however, certain qualifications and additions, in order to make the description and analysis more precise and complete.

With reference to hypotheses 1 and 2, Willems has called our attention to the possibility that the mortality rate among the lower (and extensively colored) ranks of the Brazilian population may be proportionately lower now than in the

[35] Plus a few limited and atypical cases, as we have suggested above, of discrimination on the basis of race, neither derived from, however, nor supported by, the local mores.

[36] See pages 345–50 of this book.

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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (102–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

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a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance." In addition, one should further note, as Willems has also suggested to us, that an aspect of this policy has become to some extent more formal and articulate in recent years. As we have defined it, this informal and unstated policy reflects a desire to absorb all minority groups—whether immigrant[40] or of color; but discrimination on the basis of either color or race obviously can stand in the way of its realization. It is with reference to this obstacle that Willems believes the policy has become more articulate, as reflected in the law of 1951, which gives legal negative sanction to discrimination in any form, a law passed overwhelmingly by the Brazilian Congress. It is reflected also in the committee reports and discussions inside and outside Congress which accompanied the enactment of this law; in the decidedly vocal and positive opposition on the part of Brazilian organs of public opinion to the occasional evidences of color discrimination upon which public attention becomes focused; and even, as Willems also points out, in the anti-racist militancy of colored organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Although the basic facts seem to have been observed and reported in the original study, not all were given; perhaps, the relative prominence they deserved in the hypotheses which terminated it. One might add to these hypotheses certain apparent facts to which attention is called, to some extent at least, in the course of this book:

1. A large number of popular terms have arisen which seem to designate the various racial combinations in the population. However, a) these terms are descriptive not so much of racial descent as (1) of the actual physical appearance of the individual in question, and (2) of his social

[40] Cf., in this respect, Nogueira 1955:552; Pierson 1951:191.

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subject. Among these visitors there are two—James Bryce and Theodore Roosevelt—whose knowledge of conditions in the United States make their reports upon the situation in Brazil peculiarly interesting.

Viscount Bryce, whose "observations and impressions" of South America were first published in 1912, remarked that in Brazil, in contrast to the United States, the color line is nowhere sharply drawn and that "the fusion of whites and blacks by intermarriage goes steadily on." Mr. Roosevelt—Theodore and not Franklin Delano—who visited the country a few years later, is more explicit. He says: "If I were asked to name the one point in which there is a complete difference between the Brazilian and ourselves, I should say it was in the attitude to the black man."

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This attitude manifests itself in the fact that in Brazil "any Negro or mulatto who shows himself fit is without question given the place to which his abilities entitle him." However, the most conspicuous difference—the "one real difference"—is "the tendency of Brazil to absorb the Negro." This tendency is, however, not merely a historical and biological fact; it is rather an expression of a national policy, in so far as Brazil can be said to have a policy with respect to the Negro.

Statistics of population, which are never very accurate in this matter of race and less so perhaps in Brazil than in the United States, indicate that the number of Africans of unmixed blood is growing steadily less so that "with two or more racial crossings"—so say those Brazilians who are conscious of the Negro or concerned about his future—"the Negro blood tends to disappear." This so-called Aryanization of the African, from the point of view of Brazilian national policy, is a thing, perhaps one should say *the* thing, to be desired.

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[City of Salvador]

As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[1]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[1] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

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tation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers.

Just the reverse was characteristic of the Africans, with whom the Portuguese had for some time been acquainted. As early as 1433,[7] Negro slaves had been imported into Portugal to labor on the large estates of the military and religious orders, particularly in the Algarves. Moreover, the West Coast of Africa lay within easy reach of Brazil, directly opposite its central and northern coasts.

The exact date when African importation began is unknown, although it is thought that the fleet which Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 encountered in the bay at Bahia was engaged in the transport of slaves.[8] Sometime later in this same century[9] the slave trade began to gather momen-

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[7] Prado cites a statement from Georg Friederici (*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europaer* [3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1925–36]) to the effect that the first Africans were imported into Portugal in 1433, instead of 1441, as commonly thought. See J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as capitanias do norte do Brasil* (2 vols.; São Paulo, 1939–41), I, 250 n.

[8] Malheiro, *op. cit.*, III, 6; cf. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), p. 281.

[9] In a letter dated 1552 Padre Nobrega refers to having requested and received three slaves from Guinea. These arrived with others on orders from the king (see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia* [4 vols.; Bahia, 1919–33], I, 390). In another letter written June 5, 1559, Padre Nobrega refers to eight "Negros de Guiné" on the estate of one Andre Gavião at Bahia (see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 442). In 1583 a certain Salvador Correa de Sá made a contract with João Gutteres Valerio in which he agreed to purchase every slave brought from Africa in his ship (F. Borges de Barros, *Novos documentos para a historia colonial* [Bahia, 1931], p. 77). Pedro Calmon (*op. cit.*, p. 178) gives 1548 as the year in which the traffic began, and Arthur Ramos (*The Negro in Brazil* [Washington, 1939], p. 3) says that the first shipment of slaves direct from the Guinea coast is thought to have occurred in 1538 in a vessel belonging to one Jorge Lopes Bixorda.

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rapidly becoming one people. Some day not far distant there will be only *one* race in our country."

On visiting Brazil, Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture which we saw in the Art Museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man." Quoting a Brazilian statesman, Roosevelt continued: "You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared."[42]

It is difficult to check this general impression that the population is constantly becoming more and more European in appearance. Reliable statistics on the present distribution of the various ethnic groups are not available. No adequate data of this sort have recently been compiled by any agency. The last Brazilian census to include racial categories was taken a half-century ago, in 1890. At that time the racial division in Bahia was given as: *brancos*, 32.0 per cent; *pretos*, 26.4 per cent; and *mestiços*, 35.1 per cent.[43]

Vital statistics, however, are still recorded in the city by

[42] *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410–11.

[43] *Caboclos* were given as 6.5 per cent. It is difficult to understand how so large a number of Indians, or Indian mixed-bloods (the term is variously used at different times and in different places in Brazil), could have at that time existed in the city of Bahia.

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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths

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563 nomic level. Of the 27 others, in 21, or 80 per cent, of the
565 cases the financial condition of the white was less favorable than that of the colored partner. Of the 6 other cases, in which monetary advantage was in favor of the darker individual, 3 of the whites involved were males, and 3 were females.

One of the males had married the daughter of a respected and widely revered mixed-blood educator, an "authority" on Portuguese grammar, with whom many Bahians of the upper classes had studied and into whose family, by reason of the father's prestige, anyone in Bahia would deem it an honor to be accepted. Moreover, the difference in economic level between the two families was slight. A second had married a "beautiful *morena*" whose physical charm, it is said, readily compensated for the difference in economic status.

* 563 In 19 cases of intermarriage on which information was
565 obtained from a town in the interior (Itaquara), 15 were
•[114] from the same occupational level. In the 4 cases in which
[463] one spouse came from a lower social stratum than the other,
[434] the social advantage was in each case in favor of the white. Thirteen of the 19 couples came from the same economic level.

One may say that the frequency of intermarriage at Bahia varies inversely with class level. In other words, intermarriage takes place readily in the lower circles, occasionally among whites who are climbing in the class scale, and rarely with whites in the upper class.[33]

When intermarriages involving upper-class individuals do occur, however, "society" does not completely close its doors

[33] This generalization does not hold for *brancos da Bahia*, or those mixed-bloods who have passed over into the white category.

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passed resolutions protesting police interference with the *candomblé* and demanding full religious liberty in the exercise of its rites.

Papers presented to this congress by Brazilians dealt with such subjects as "Slave Insurrections in the Province of Espirito Santo during the Nineteenth Century," "Old Documents concerning the Negroes of the Palmares," "Castro Alves and Brazilian Poetical Treatment of the Negro Slave," "The *Africano* in Bahia," "Chapters in Afro-Brazilian Ethnology in Rio Grande," "Bantú Contributions to Religious Syncretism in Brazil," "A Revision of Afro-Brazilian Ethnology," "The *Africano* and His Culture in Brazil," "The *Orixá*[4] of the Poor," "The School of Nina Rodrigues," and "The Negro and the Problem of Acculturation in Brazil." Only one paper was not concerned with ethnological or historical problems; and it, although it took account of ethnic differences, did not treat of any form of racial conflict. It dealt with "The Negro Criminal in Bahia."

Similar questions were discussed in the first *Congresso Afro-brasileiro*, which met in Recife, sponsored by Gilberto Freyre, a social historian whose *Casa grande e senzala* and *Sobrados e mucambos* throw significant light upon the Negro in colonial and imperial Brazil.[5] This gathering was, because of its informal character and the attempt to present factual data, "something new in Brazil."[6] As Freyre describes it:

> There was lacking both formality and a consciousness of class. Around a table, at the head of which different individuals took turns

[4] *Orixá* is a Yoruba word meaning "deity."

[5] An interesting estimate of Freyre's work by Dr. Lewis Hanke appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, July, 1939, pp. 24-44, under the title "Gilberto Freyre: Brazilian Social Historian."

[6] Gilberto Freyre, "O que foi o primeiro Congresso Afro-brasileiro no Recife," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.* (Rio, 1937), p. 348.

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ture. It is a linguistic problem, a question of the influence of African dialects upon the Portuguese language. It is a sociological problem, a question of the influence of the Negro upon Brazilian social life.[9]

As here defined, then, the concern of Brazilian intellectuals interested in the Negro lies in problems other than those arising from racial maladjustment, with the possible exception implied by the phrase "questions of racial heredity and race mixture," and similarly suggested by the titles of the last-named three papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. But, if the situation is analyzed more fully, one finds that each of these three papers *attacks* the positions that the Negro is racially inferior and that race mixture leads to degeneracy.

The thesis of Negro inferiority is today perhaps most forcefully defended by Oliveira Vianna, able sociologist and member of the National Academy of Letters. Well versed in the race literature of Europe and of the United States and impressed, like Nina Rodrigues, with the difficulties in the way of assimilating the African and his descendants, Vianna has written:

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The pure Negroes never will be able, not even the most advanced representatives of the race, to be assimilated completely into the white culture; their capacity for civilization—their "civilizability," so to speak—does not extend beyond merely imitating, more or less imperfectly, the habits and customs of the whites. Between the Negro's mentality and that of the Caucasian lies a substantial and irreducible difference which no social or cultural pressure, no matter how long it may be continued, can possibly overcome.[10]

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[10] Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 156. It is obvious from a careful reading of his books that this able scholar inadvertently fails to distinguish between the biological and the cultural determinants in mental functioning and personality and that he also confuses cultural achievement with racial potentiality.

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Thus the Negro, being "insensible to those superior impulses which constitute the dominant force in the white's mentality," contributes to the superior classes, Vianna contends, "only when he loses his purity and mixes with the white."[31]

Recognizing, however, that there are in Brazil "both inferior and superior mixed-bloods," Vianna offers in explanation that "a fortunate crossing of a superior type of Negro (for the Negro is not a unit) . . . . with a white individual well gifted eugenically may produce a superior mulatto . . . . if, by chance, in the play of hereditary influences, the eugenic potentialities of the white predominate."

In another connection Vianna maintains that

> the entire development of Brazilian collective mentality has in reality been nothing more than a continuous bringing-over . . . . of the racially inferior portions of our population to European mentality and morality: that is, to the mind and character of the white race. The superior mixed-bloods, those who during the long period of our national development have risen socially, did not rise nor establish themselves because of their mixed-blood mentality. Instead of preserving as they climbed the characteristics of their hybrid type, they on the contrary lost those very characteristics, left off being psychologically mixed; that is, they Aryanized themselves.[32]

To this latter passage the author of one of the three papers referred to above takes energetic exception.[33] Quoting this passage in full, he immediately disclaims any addiction to what he calls "the Aryan fetish of the illustrious sociologist." He maintains instead that "the greatness of Brazil comes from race mixture"; it has resulted in a better-adapted and more resistant individual, "the new variety, the mixed-blood *superior being*."

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[32] *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 154.

[33] A. Austregesilo, "A mestiçagem no Brasil como factor eugenico," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 325-33.

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Sharply departing from Vianna, and also from Jorge de Lima and Euclydes da Cunha, to all of whom he refers as "devotees of Aryanism," and from "those foreign literary men and sociologists of little standing" who claim "that the Brazilian is a product of three melancholy, inferior, and indolent races: that is, that the Brazilian is racially inferior," this author asserts that "the notable intellectual capacity of the Brazilian people and the existence among us of geniuses to an extent greater than in any other Ibero-American country, prove that it is not Aryan descent but race mixture which has given birth to the intelligence and the creative capacity of the Brazilian people." Not racial inferiority or degeneracy, but illiteracy, malnutrition, and disrespect for labor are responsible for what deficiencies Brazil may possess. This author concludes:

> I am certain that in Brazil miscegenation has brought and will continue to bring more benefits than evils. The greater portion of our people, as well as of our talented invididuals,[34] in politics, in the sciences, and in the arts, were, or are, mixed-bloods. For instance, I can at once cite such men as Gonçalves Dias, Tobias Barreto, Barão de Cotegipe, Floriano Peixoto, Rebouças, José do Patrocinio, Nilo Peçanha, Machado de Assis, Juliano Moreira, Olava Bilac, Lima Barreto, and many others: scientists, painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, military men; in all of whom the blood of Africa is represented to a considerable degree.

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A perhaps less extreme and more scholarly but nonetheless vigorous attack upon the theory of Negro inferiority is to be found in the second of the three papers referred to above.[35] Regretting that "our . . . . physical, moral and so-

[34] This is probably an exaggerated statement of an actual truth.

[35] See Senhora Juliano Moreira, "Juliano Moreira e o problema do negro e do mestiço no Brasil," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 146–50. In this article the widow of the late colored alienist gathers together some of his writings upon the subject.

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virtually extinct.[3] Only an occasional individual of African birth may be found, like, for instance, a certain elderly black once prominent in the fetish cults not only of Bahia but also of Rio de Janeiro who was born in Lagos, his father having purchased his mother out of slavery in Brazil shortly before his birth and taken her to Africa. He knows four *Africanos* still living in Rio. In 1936 he met in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) an elderly African woman with facial scarification and almost no command of Portuguese. She has since died.

Thus, actual contact with Africa is today little more than a memory in the minds of a few of the older blacks, who recall stories told by their parents or by other Africans of persons, places, and events in Africa; or who years ago visited in the home of African ancestors or were, perhaps, personally acquainted with blacks plying their small vessels between Bahia and the West Coast. However, certain individuals of the older generation still cherish sentimental attachment to Africa, as is indicated by the expression occasionally heard on the lips of an elderly Negro, as he reverently turns his eyes upward toward the sky, "Sou filho de dois Africanos, graças a Deus!"[4] "If I had the money," remarked another black, his eyes lighting up, "I'd go to Africa, to Abeokuta, build me a house, and live like a man ought to."

An elderly Bahian Negro recalled:

> My mother was just a young girl when she was captured by a warrior in Africa. He wanted to sell her to a slave trader in Dahomey.

[3] Since lower-class Negroes who have difficulty in speaking correct Portuguese occasionally attempt to cover up their chagrin by saying that they are *Africanos*, and others, participating in social circles where prestige attaches to the native-born African, may deliberately misstate their origin, the incautious observer may be led erroneously to think that there are a considerable number of Africans still living in Bahia.

[4] "My father and mother were both Africans, thank God!"

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794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 796 [562] As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accordance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right. [273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[1]

794 576 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 796 787 [114] When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure

[1] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro.

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha.

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axêxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

" This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *Candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936.

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tive concubines, the attitude of this community also changed, until "at the present time there is probably nowhere a more grim determination to preserve the integrity of their racial stock than there is among the descendants of those first Dutch settlers and of the French Huguenot and German immigrants who followed and fused with them to form the Boer people."[4]

But in Brazil the attitudes toward intermixture and intermarriage which grew up during the colonial period in response to the exigencies of the frontier seem not to have been subsequently seriously altered. Instead, the tendency to absorb all diverse ethnic elements appears to have been a persistent character of Brazilian society throughout the four centuries of its existence and is characteristic of it today.

The reasons for this deviation in Brazil are not very clear, and it continues, therefore, to be a problem. One of the difficulties in the way of its solution is the comparatively meager amount of information available on the "social history" of Brazil. Until quite recently, when such intellectuals as Gilberto Freyre became interested in digging out of the voluminous record of the past some understanding of the human relations characteristic of the colonial and imperial periods, Brazilian historians had limited their attention largely to the political, and especially to the administrative, aspects of Brazilian history. There is extant, of course, a considerable literature from the pens of foreign visitors, among whom were several able scientists, artists, and scholars like, for example, J. B. von Spix, C. F. P. von Martius, J. B. Debret, Prince Maximilian Wied-Neuwied, Maurice Rugendas, Henry W. Bates, Louis Agassiz, Richard F. Burton, Prince Adalbert, and L. F. Tollenare, which often con-

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[4] Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

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tains pertinent observation and comment. But, unfortunately, the work of these men is almost entirely limited to the nineteenth century. The accounts which deal with an earlier period—for instance, the *Cartas* of Vilhena and of Nobrega, and the works of such able historians as Robert Southey, Heinrich Handelmann, and Francisco A. de Varnhagen—do not furnish sufficient information to resolve our problem. Voluminous records in numerous public depositories still await the careful sifting of competent scholars.

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It may be that, by the time European women had arrived in any considerable number in Bahia, miscegenation, aided by the decimation occasioned by the rigors of slavery and the introduction of European diseases, had already proceeded to the point where the Indian, as a minority group, had disappeared, or had almost disappeared, so that the problem of serious competition with Indian concubines did not present itself to the incoming Portuguese housewives.

Large numbers of Africans were, however, by this time coming in, and they continued for generations to arrive. There were at least some females among them. No intermarriage with African women, as far as we know, at first took place. Miscegenation, however, was extensive. And the mixed-bloods, as we have seen, were treated with tolerance and consideration. Numerous unions, especially with mulatto women, were subsequently entered into and were socially accepted.

It may have been that one circumstance favorable to a deviant termination of race relations in Brazil was the contact which the Portuguese, unlike the English and the Dutch, had with the Moors. From the customs and traditions of their conquerors, the Portuguese, during the several centuries of Moorish domination of the Iberian peninsula,

[SALVADOR]

/5/ Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

• 114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. We likewise examined the [127] portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

124 In addition to these investigations and the compilation of [127] data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed; they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

[SALVADOR]

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124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
• 114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

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1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

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122 The realization of this project is due to the initiative of Unesco, which subsidized it and made it possible, thanks to an agreement made with the Foundation for the Development of Science in Bahia, within the framework of the program of social research of the State of Bahia and Columbia University. It is a pleasant duty for me to thank my friends: Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University, in New York, for the well-informed collaboration that he has kindly given to the organization of the plan of investigation and to the investigation itself, as director of the program mentioned above; Professor Anisio S. Texeira for his clear discussion of certain topics of work and for the support he gave in his capacity as secretary general of the foundation. It is also necessary for me to thank Mr. Alfred Métraux of the Department of Social Sciences of Unesco, who approved our plans for the investigation and the choice of my person to direct it, who has had the kindness to read my notes, to discuss with me the numerous problems of the study, and to help me with his critical comments
• 114 and his authoritative opinions. I wish likewise to show my gratitude for the excellent co-operation that my assistants in the investigation gave me: Marie Amélie C. Leite, Professor of the School of Social Service of Bahia, Josildeth S. Gomes and Thérèse Cardoso, my students of anthropology of the faculty of philosophy of the University of Bahia, and my daughter Sylvia de Azevedo, as well as Mr. Maurilio Pinto da Silva, Jayme Abreu, and Louis R. Sena for other forms of unselfish collaboration, not excepting the excellent photographer Mr. Pierre Verger for his technical assist-
[122] ance. I thank, moreover, the recreational clubs, the religious brotherhoods, the schools, and the organizations that register professional work for having facilitated for me access to their card-
115 index cabinets and their registers. I wish finally to mention very
114 especially my informants, whom it is unfortunately impossible to name; I wish to express to them here all my gratitude for their good will and for the wealth of data and of personal experiences that they kindly entrusted to me and that I have utilized for a scientific purpose; I add that none of them can be held responsible for the way in which I have utilized this material.

January, 1952 Thales de Azevedo

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*563 mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
565 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
[192] land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2),

2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

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when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

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1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

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a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light mulattoes tending to revert to the white race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/, 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

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In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

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Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

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1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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*563 The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

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3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o caos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

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A Multiracial Society with Classes

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The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

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As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

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The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

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*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

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*563 87 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and [162] Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

[127] [114] 1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of [162] 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

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"We, the Bahians, we have in this respect an invariable opinion. Brazilian racial democracy consists expressly in repudiating any manifestation of privilege based on color, and we believe that these epidermic distinctions have no value over against a superior unity, from now on indissoluble, which is the moral unity of a people within the human unity of the country."

Two other white intellectuals, likewise very much in view, denounced in 1921 and in 1933 isolated attempts at caste separation "against which our entire history protests with indignation, against which our traditions rise up in an outburst of revolt"; they deplored "the stupidity that consists in blowing /94/ on the flame of racial hatred already forgotten ... sometimes non-existent." After having lived many years in the city, a physician from another State declares that "this is without doubt the strongest impression that one receives and that one keeps of Bahia: the victory over racial prejudice and the presence of the Negro, the mulatto, and the White, who have a mulatto father and a black grandfather, in the social life."

This conception is not peculiar to finos Whites. It is also expressed by colored persons who have become integrated with the attitudes of the white group (1).

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1. In the criticism of the article by Julian Steward, "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems," Frank Tannenbaum declares that "In spite of slavery, in spite of an intermediate period, in spite of centuries of exploitation, the Negro has not only survived, but one may say that he is flourishing. And one may always ask oneself why. The answer seems to be that the Negro has accommodated himself to the culture of the white man, as the Indian never did ... Undoubtedly I shall be accused of exaggeration, but as far as this question is concerned I think that the Negro has become a white man with a black face," in American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, No. 2, April-June 1943, p. 205.

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